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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2533rd MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 4 May 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2533)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [*2531st and 2532nd meetings*] I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Antigua and Barbuda and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Iacovou (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Ecuador and Sri Lanka in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador) and Mr. Wijewardane (Sri Lanka) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker on my list is the representative of Ecuador. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I welcome you, Sir, as President of the Security Council and thank you and the other members of the Council for affording my country the opportunity to participate in this discussion.

5. The problem that Cyprus has brought before the Security Council is of interest to the international community and a matter of serious concern to Ecuador because it involves principles that constitute the essential bases of our country's international policy and that affect the authority of the Security Council, the primary organ of international law in our time.

6. Those principles are in particular the sovereign equality of States, respect for the territorial integrity of States, rejection of the threat or use of force in international relations, the self-determination of peoples, non-recognition of territorial conquests obtained by the use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes. These positions are accompanied by our continued support for any action on the part of the international community aimed at achieving the withdrawal of foreign troops from territories of countries not their own. In enumerating in United Nations debates the cases in which such withdrawal has been demanded, Ecuador has always cited the case of Cyprus as well as others elsewhere in the world.

7. The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a good number of resolutions in the past 20 years on this issue designed to achieve a just and lasting solution that will not only benefit the Cypriot people but also eliminate a conflict that poses an immi-

nent danger to the peace and security of the eastern Mediterranean region. But unfortunately those resolutions have not been implemented, and that is precisely why there has been continued violation of the sovereign rights of a Member State of the United Nations, which brings us to the situation before the Council today.

8. My country considers that the substantive issue in this crisis, which so seriously affects the Cypriot population *vis-à-vis* its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus, is the need for an understanding between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities—on an equal footing and under the auspices of the United Nations—that will lead to a peaceful settlement of the problem and assure the well being and harmonious coexistence of those communities.

9. Ever since 1960, when the Republic of Cyprus was created, Ecuador, also a democratic country, has expressed its solidarity with it. The 26 March 1965 report by the United Nations Mediator on Cyprus, the former President of Ecuador, Mr. Galo Plaza, addressed to the Secretary-General [*S/6253*], indicated the criteria accepted in Security Council resolutions aimed at a solution to the Cypriot problem based on justice and the interests of the inhabitants of that country, a solution based on talks between the two communities that constitute the population of the island, free of the pressure of foreign intervention and under the auspices of the United Nations. There can be no free discussions on the destiny of a people, even when different communities are involved, as long as foreign troops are present on their territory.

10. The stature and integrity of the former President of Ecuador, who was mentioned yesterday morning [*2531st meeting*], are unassailable in view of his extraordinary work in support of the United Nations, not only during the drafting of the Charter at the San Francisco Conference, but also on missions to Cyprus and also to Lebanon and the Congo, not to mention his outstanding work as Secretary-General of the Organization of American States. All this is a matter of history. Moreover, his contributions have been commended in lofty terms by respected, high-ranking figures on the international scene. Mr. Galo Plaza has been a democratic President of Ecuador, respectful of human rights and of the sovereign expression of the will of peoples through free elections, which are the basis of the political fabric of my country, where, in worthy continuation of that process, elections will again be conducted on Sunday next.

11. In his report of 1965 Mr. Galo Plaza demonstrated his absolute impartiality and his desire to find a solution to the problem of Cyprus on the basis of meetings between the representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities in accordance with Security Council resolution 186 (1964), and he indicated that any agreement reached by the Cypriot communities must have the support of all the parties concerned. Furthermore, Mr. Denktaş knew Mr. Galo Plaza very well and dealt with him, just as Mr. Galo Plaza also dealt, in Ankara, with the President of the Republic of Turkey, with its Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and other officials of both the Inönü Government and the succeeding administration. Mr. Galo Plaza's report was offered as a "basis for an exchange of views" and recognized that any solution would presuppose concessions on both sides in respect of their initial positions. Anyone who might try to give this a unilateral interpretation should analyse the report objectively; they would find the balance and realism that have been so highly praised by all who have studied it thoroughly and without prejudice as an important document of the United Nations. It is one of the many contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security made by Ecuadorian citizens and by our country itself in its international life as a founding Member of the United Nations.

12. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: This is the first time the Egyptian delegation is participating in the work of the Council under your presidency, Sir. It is pleased to do so, especially since your well-known tact, outstanding competence and diplomatic experience will guarantee the good conduct of the business of the Council in the month of May. Allow me to express sincere appreciation to Mr. Vladimir Kravets, the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, on the exemplary manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

13. At the outset I should like to affirm the great importance Egypt attaches to the achievement of a permanent, just and peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem. Egypt has an interest in stability in Cyprus for several reasons, including the fact that both States are among the founding members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and Cyprus is a Mediterranean country for which Egypt desires the preservation of peace and security, just as it desires it for the whole region. These joint concerns were reflected in the recent visit to Cairo by the Foreign Minister of Cyprus.

14. Egypt has always been convinced that the basis of such a settlement cannot be other than full respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus. This position stems from the principles of the Charter, the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the question of Cyprus, and the decisions of the Non-Aligned Movement.

15. In the light of those facts, last November Egypt defined before the Council [*2500th meeting*] its clear position on the declaration of the establishment of a separate republic in northern Cyprus, which declaration constituted a grave development in the situation. For the same reasons, today we express our grave concern at the recent developments, especially declarations and actions that are completely at variance with due compliance with Security Council resolution 541 (1983). Those steps diminish the prospects for

achieving a permanent, just and peaceful solution to the question of Cyprus, which we feel must guarantee respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for the two communities, Greek and Turkish, and must represent a firm basis for coexistence within a single Cyprus. At the same time, Egypt has supported, and still supports, the view that dialogue and negotiation between the two Cypriot communities is the only approach that will lead to the achievement of that objective, although we do not underestimate the difficulties obstructing that approach.

16. The delegation of Egypt has studied with great attention the Secretary-General's report in document S/16519, especially the account therein of the persistent efforts to implement United Nations resolutions. The developments and facts outlined in that report speak for themselves, as stated by the Secretary-General; they also identify the reasons for the frustration of the constructive efforts and sincere endeavours of the Secretary-General and his assistants. Here, we cannot fail to express our great sorrow at the threat posed to the negotiation process itself.

17. Our delegation has listened attentively to the statements made in the Council so far. We shall continue to follow the debate in the hope of finding the best way for the Council to assist the Secretary-General to continue his good offices mission.

18. The statements made by the parties directly concerned should undoubtedly give everyone pause for reflection, rather than our merely recording our positions or rushing into something that would diminish the prospects for negotiations at this critical stage of the question of Cyprus. In our view, thought must be given to finding the best means of re-establishing a favourable atmosphere to support the Secretary-General's mission and to pave the way for the resumption of negotiations between the Turkish and Greek communities as partners having the same destiny, to enable them to live in harmony and coexist in a single, undivided country.

19. Hence my delegation is ready to co-operate with you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council in any such endeavour at this very sensitive time that we all agree is fraught with difficulties. At the same time we concur with the Secretary-General's statement in his report to the effect that the current situation requires the maintenance of continued dialogue and negotiation.

20. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Australia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

21. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): May I thank you, Mr. President, and, through you, the other members of the Council for agreeing to my request to address the Council today. May I also congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of May. Your skills, long experience and dedication are well known to us all.

22. It is a matter of serious concern to the Australian Government that recent developments in Cyprus have made it necessary for the Security Council once again to consider the situation in that troubled island. The statements to the Council yesterday [*2531st meeting*] of President Kyprianou of the Republic of Cyprus and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Denktaş, emphasized the extent to which the situation in Cyprus has drifted further into what we can describe only as an increasingly dangerous and divisive deadlock.

23. Our participation in this debate today reflects our concern about those developments. Australia's interest in and concern for the situation in Cyprus is also demonstrated by our participation in the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and in the Commonwealth Action Group on Cyprus, established at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at New Delhi last November.

24. When the Security Council adopted resolution 541 (1983) last November, the Australian Government was hopeful that that resolution might pave the way for a reduction of tension on the island. Regrettably, that has not been the case; instead, new developments have taken place which have led to a further deterioration of the situation. We deeply regret the recent exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which we see as undesirable and unhelpful, particularly in terms of its timing, and we have made this clear in representations to the Turkish Government.

25. The Secretary-General is to be commended once again for presenting the Security Council with a forthright report on recent developments. His latest report [*S/16519*], however, is a sombre document and it makes depressing reading. As he says in paragraph 23, "The developments outlined in this report speak for themselves."

26. Australia has consistently supported the Secretary-General in his efforts towards a resolution of the Cyprus question, and we shall continue to do so. The ideas that the Secretary-General has outlined in his report, in our view, merit far more serious attention than has so far been given to them. His mandate still has the potential to reduce tensions on the island. His readiness to provide his good offices is indispensable and deserves the unambiguous and unanimous support of the Security Council and of the parties principal. In this regard, let me say frankly that the Australian Government considers it would be helpful if the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Denktaş, were to look again, and in a co-operative spirit, at his exchanges with the Secretary-General.

27. In his report the Secretary-General describes the continued deployment of UNFICYP as essential. The

Australian Government calls upon the parties principal to the conflict to do nothing which would hinder the peace-keeping and humanitarian role which the United Nations Force in Cyprus carries out with distinction in both sectors of the island.

28. The history of Cyprus has been bedevilled by intransigence and lack of trust on both sides. We have seen this manifested already in the current debate. The Australian Government believes that, despite recent setbacks, the best hope for progress towards a settlement in Cyprus lies in renewed discussions and contacts, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities which would take into account the legitimate concerns of both. Moderation from all parties is an essential requirement at this difficult and delicate stage, if there is to be progress towards a solution in Cyprus.

29. The Security Council has a clear responsibility in the current situation. We ask the Council to make clear to the parties the essential need for co-operation, communication and genuine negotiation, and we call on the parties themselves to heed such a call. Only then will peace and stability return to the island of Cyprus, which for too long has known too little of both.

30. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

31. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): First of all, Sir, I should like to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. As the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, you are well known at the United Nations for your wisdom and knowledge and for the high esteem in which we your colleagues hold you. We are gratified that so eminently qualified a person should be occupying the presidency of the Council for this month. I wish also to express our great admiration for the way in which Mr. Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic presided over the Council in the month of April.

32. At the core of the situation in Cyprus currently being considered by the Security Council is the unity, sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, a Member of the United Nations and a founding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Moreover, this situation is a component part of the sensitive region of the eastern Mediterranean and of the uncertainties, challenges to peace and threats to international security prevailing there.

33. It may be recalled here that, immediately after the unilateral proclamation of independence in November last year, the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia issued a statement to the effect, *inter alia*, that it had considered the latest situation created by the unilateral proclamation of independence of the part of Cyprus occupied by Turkish armed forces in 1974 and that that unilateral proclamation was a direct violation of the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and hindered the efforts of the Secretary-General to seek a peaceful solution to the problem of Cyprus through talks between the two Cypriot communities.

34. The Presidency considered it indispensable that new efforts be undertaken immediately with a view to starting negotiations between the two Cypriot communities on an equal footing, in order to achieve a solution acceptable to both parties, with full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus and based on the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and on the principles of non-alignment.

35. It may also be recalled that the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries at their Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi in March last year, reiterated full solidarity with and support for the people and the Government of the Republic of Cyprus and also reaffirmed respect for that country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment. They expressed deep concern over the fact that part of the Republic of Cyprus continued under foreign occupation, and they demanded the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces as an essential basis for the solution of the Cyprus problem. At that time they pointed out that the *de facto* situation created by force of arms and unilateral actions should not in any way affect the solution of the problem.

36. In its resolution 541 (1983) of November last year the Security Council, *inter alia*, considered the unilateral declaration of independence invalid and called for its withdrawal. It requested the Secretary-General to pursue his mission of good offices in order to achieve the earliest possible progress towards a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus and called upon the parties to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General. It also called upon all States and the two communities in Cyprus to refrain from any action that might exacerbate the situation. That call of the Security Council was supported by the international community at large. It was strongly hoped at that time that it would bring about restraint and the reversal and withdrawal of the unilateral proclamation of independence purporting to create an independent State of Northern Cyprus. It was also hoped that the efforts of the Secretary-General would pave the way to dialogue and a negotiated settlement.

37. The Members of the United Nations withheld recognition of the new self-proclaimed entity. However, the Security Council's call was not heeded by the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community, and they have taken measures in direct contravention of resolution 541 (1983) and the efforts of the Secretary-General. Thus another link has been added to the long chain of *faits accomplis*.

38. Once again the policy of *fait accompli* has delivered a heavy blow to efforts to resolve the problem through negotiations based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. One *fait accompli* is being used as justification for another, and thus the crisis is developing in a vicious downward spiral of events. It would be dangerous for us to get accustomed to long-lasting violations of sovereign rights of a State —in this case the Republic of Cyprus—and to allow one *fait accompli* to follow another.

39. An end must be put to this downward spiral that is threatening to result in the partition of Cyprus and its eventual disappearance as a unified island entity. These and other important aspects of the crisis were most ably and effectively put forward yesterday by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou.

40. Intercommunal talks and dialogue are the way to peace and stability in Cyprus, and all parties should shy away from actions that make dialogue more and more irrelevant and bring the partition of the Republic of Cyprus closer and closer. The unilateral proclamation and the ensuing measures in no way promote these negotiations. We cannot but conclude that all these measures undertaken by the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community are attempts to consolidate the grounds for the dismemberment of the Republic of Cyprus and to render the basis for dialogue non-existent. We feel it is indispensable to call again for the withdrawal of the unilateral proclamation and the ensuing measures and to make them null and void.

41. There are no questions we know of that cannot be resolved through dialogue, and surely none can be resolved in the long run by force, going against the General Assembly and the Security Council in particular, and against the standards of the international community.

42. It may be appropriate to stress again, at this stage, that the solution to the problem of Cyprus can be based only on the withdrawal of foreign forces from the Republic of Cyprus and on cessation of occupation and of foreign interference. The presence of foreign troops threatens to spread the conflict by creating opportunities for the involvement of other factors. No amount of foreign troops will help, and an increase in foreign military presence will jeopardize even more the peace and security of the region.

43. Further active engagement of the Secretary-General is invaluable. His readiness to discharge the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council is extremely welcome. His most recent report on the situation testifies to the fact that he is taking into account the interests of the two Cypriot communities, on the basis of his extensive knowledge of the situation and the possibilities for a political solution of the problem. His services and initiatives are indispensable in this new situation, particularly since maintenance of a continuous process of communication and negotiations between the parties to the dispute is indispensable in the search for a solution.

44. However, the efforts of the Secretary-General can have meaningful effect only if they have the undivided and unambiguous support of all and if all parties involved show political will and co-operation. This thus implies the need for the most urgent cessation of all acts leading to the partition of the Republic of Cyprus and an end to the occupation of a part of the country. This also implies the cessation of all acts contrary to Council resolution 541 (1983), which calls for the withdrawal of the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities that purports to create an independent State in Northern Cyprus.

45. We consider of particular importance urgent action by the Security Council, aimed at providing a peaceful solution on the basis of the adopted resolutions, in order to prevent any further deterioration, to re-establish the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus by peaceful means and to lend its full support to the sovereignty, independence and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

46. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic containing a request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representative of that country to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic), took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

47. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I now call on Mr. Al-Atassi to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

48. Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: At the outset, Sir, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are convinced that your experience, ability and skill will lead to success in your conduct of the Council's work. You represent a friendly country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which has always supported peoples threatened by aggression or struggling for independence and freedom. We should also like to voice our admiration for the exemplary way in which your predecessor, Mr. Kravets, the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, conducted the work of the Council last month.

49. Our delegation, having studied with interest the report of the Secretary-General, published as docu-

ment S/16519, dated 1 May 1984, commends the efforts he has been making to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and believes that the proposals calling for high-level dialogue are a constructive initiative to implement the Council's resolutions.

50. The Syrian Arab Republic has high hopes that it will be possible to achieve a just and comprehensive solution to the problem of Cyprus based primarily on the maintenance of the territorial integrity and independence of the island and its non-aligned status, and also on the basis of respect for and implementation of Security Council resolutions. In that connection, as the President of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafez al Assad, stated at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, during the consideration of major international questions:

> "This neighbouring country, Cyprus, is suffering from partition, which has caused great suffering to the people of that country. We favour a peaceful solution, which would unite it and enable its people to recover its national unity and total independence and to coexist and co-operate with its neighbours and maintain its non-aligned status. We also favour negotiations between representatives of the two Cypriot communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in keeping with United Nations resolutions."

51. The fact that Cyprus is a friendly neighbouring non-aligned country explains Syria's interest in the situation in that island. Furthermore, this concern emanates from Syria's obligations *vis-à-vis* the Charter of the United Nations and the purposes and principles of the Non-Aligned Movement.

52. The concern shown by our country over the prolongation of this problem is a sincere and sound reflection of this position. The security situation in the Mediterranean is precarious and threatens to explode at any time. Needless to say, Israel—and behind it the United States of America—is imperilling the security of the region. This danger of explosion is compounded by the strategic co-operation between the United States and its favourite ally, Israel. Recently the United States Navy and other navies were in the eastern Mediterranean and, not content with making a show of force, even bombed the civilian population of the region.

53. Finally, my delegation would like to express its concern over the fact that it has not been possible thus far to resolve the problem of Cyprus in accordance with United Nations resolutions. We believe that the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions adopted since 1974 are a unanimously accepted basis for achieving a solution to the problem of Cyprus. I think in particular of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which contains, *inter alia*, the intercommunal negotiating principle in the context of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and of non-intervention in its internal affairs.

54. My delegation reaffirms that we must continue to make greater international efforts. We very much hope that the Council will achieve a just solution to the problem of Cyprus and urge the two Cypriot communities to resume intercommunal negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General, on the constructive basis accepted by both parties. These negotiations should take place on a basis of equality, in the context of freedom and the comprehensive proposals made by both sides to achieve an agreement guaranteeing their basic, legitimate rights. These negotiations should also take place with respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned status of Cyprus, as well as being in keeping with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.

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